/436 cont./

301 Finally, they create a popular oddity by alternating a small piece of black bone and a small piece of white. They also have ornamental chains consisting only of small black pieces. They blacken them by saturating them with fish oil and leaving them in hot ashes for some time. The latter varieties are all known as kárus (118).

118. Hyades (q):349 mentions only one of these types: "One type of necklace very commonly worn consists of small cylinders of bird bone, evenly cut and strung" /translated from French/. One does see this type very often, as a matter of fact.

301 The ornament for the neck that is considered the most
321 beautiful is ūpíka. To make it they gather pea-sized shells of Photinula violacea, known as um ūpíka. They scrape off the rough and dirty calcareous surface layer by rubbing the shells with wet sand between both hands or by placing them in the pebbles on the edge of a shallow brook that has a strong current, which produces the same scouring action. This gives the little snail shells a faint opalescent sheen on a sky-blue or light pink background. They make a small hole near the outer edge by rubbing the snail shell on a rough stone. First they place all the little shells next to each other according to size, beginning with the smallest up to the largest, but from the beginning they choose them so that the difference in size between the two extremes is
301 very slight. To string them they need a cord, asína, braided
[B9H] with three tendon fibers and laid double (Fig. 23). They thread the lower strand through the hole of each small shell and secure the upper one with a thread running spirally around the two and pressing each individual shell tight against the preceding one (Fig. 24). This ornament /436/ is arranged in two to five equal circles, depending on its length. At one point a short thread is wrapped around all the circles to keep them together. This is the way the ūpíka is worn at the neck. If they decide to make only a single strand of snail shells, they put the largest one in the center and arrange the others very accurately according to size, so that the smallest ones finish off the two ends (119).

[B3H] 119. This characteristic ornament of the Yamana,

[text continues on p.105 Analyst]

/436 cont./

which occasionally reached the neighboring Haus /Haush/ and Halakwulup through barter, was repeatedly mentioned by early travelers. One often sees it in the ethnographic collections of European and American museums. See Bove (c):126, Colini:722, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (q):300, 348, Lothrop (b):115, Wieghardt: 23, and others.

[237] Another necklace more highly prized than this is a braided cord of tendon on which short, small pieces of the dried windpipe of the /Fig. 23 appears here/ wild swan (Cygnus melanocoryphus) are very loosely strung. J. L. Myres:97 is right when he says that this "type of necklace is rare and much prized /cited in English/, for the swan seldom appears there in the south, and it is extremely difficult to obtain.

Finally, another necklace is described by Hyades (q):299, which I did not see. "Plaited necklace, Ospakh' ouana; this type of necklace is plaited with fibers of the intestines of young seals, Aouia ama; in the center, Itakoun, there is a fine braid, Açina, made of the sinew of a whale, which /Fig. 24 appears here/ also forms the double braid at the ends of the necklace; the fastening, Yamacéta, of the necklace is a braid made of whale tendon. It is worn only by women: Kipa tapan makau" /translated from French/.

The necklaces mentioned above, irrespective of type and construction, are procured by people of either sex and all ages. "The men wear these necklaces also, as well as the women and children" /translated from French/, Hyades (q):349 confirms. Older men do not decorate themselves as much with them, but /437/ older women do, and most of all the younger people. They are almost wholly a plaything for children. A woman will adorn her baby with a necklace chiefly out of a feeling of maternal happiness. The women and girls make all these types of ornament for themselves and for their male relatives, since this is work for women's hands. The personal need for adornment and the vanity of each individual determine how often and how long one decorates himself with this or that piece. Unimpeded

/487 cont./

Man and wife have their special share in the vessel; he builds it, and she keeps it in repair. Circumstances are such that every family owns only a single canoe, which is why it must be guarded all the more carefully (149). One canoe is never

149. Hyades (4) 301 confirms that "the Fuegians take the greatest care of their canoes" /translated from French/. Others are of the same opinion.

exactly like another in all details, although they are all built according to the same pattern. Differences in size are determined by the available raw material, and some men are far more skillful than their neighbors. The term wálina is used for a man who would find it difficult to build a canoe. The men help each other in building it, and one man repays the other for his services with weapons or other valuable objects. No Yamana would hire himself out as a carpenter, but he does work for a close relative who is sick and helpless. From what has been said, we realize that the canoe is a vital and absolutely indispensable object for these Fuegians (150).

150. In the middle of 1868 Bridges, who was then a young man, brought two bark canoes to England. It was said that one of these was meant for a boy, the other for a girl. Actually these were models which, as such, had been ordered from an Indian. After that our Fuegians many times offered such small models for sale to Europeans. The two boat-models mentioned above were described in detail in the "Illustrated London News" of August 18, 1860 (MM-III, 30; 1869). Many museums have good pieces of this kind.

/480 cont./

501 abandoned this new invention. Today we run across an occasional dugout used for short trips; a new one has not been made for three decades.

501 126 On my second trip I brought back to the museum in Santiago (Gusinde [b]:145) a dugout that had for years lain in the woods untouched near the mouth of the Rio Douglas. As Lothrop (b):146 says: "the last double-ended dugout afloat was purchased and is now in the Museum [of the American Indian in New York]. When purchased it had been in the water many years and was unbelievably heavy" /cited in English/. In short, anyone who owns a dugout, like old Pedro, uses it as long as it is still serviceable; middle aged men have long since adopted the skiff. In a period of about 40 years the dugout came into use among the Yamana and disappeared again (155).

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155. In this connection Spencer:88 says briefly: "Bark canoe precedes dug-out, which has now and for some years past entirely replaced bark" /cited in English/.

396 2. The Flat Skiff. Since the sawmills were started on
●[439 Beagle Channel by Europeans, the natives can easily obtain good
177] boards of different thicknesses. They are also given nails and iron strips. If they cannot buy their own tools, they borrow them everywhere. They do not lack the skill to make a low, short skiff. It must be wide because it is short and low. They curve the gunwale and produce a noticeably elevated bow with a sharp keel that slants backward. This makeshift (156) has /461/ no advan-

156. Lothrop (b):146 gives a short description and an illustration of it.

tages over a European construction, except for the tin can that is placed in the center for the fire. In the forward part they nail a narrow wooden crosspiece with a small hole in the middle. Into this is placed a short mast. If a light breeze comes up from the
502 rear, they hoist a piece of sacking, remnants of a woman's skirt,

/469 cont./

441 bark, into which they also set a narrow bottom piece of bark. They sew up the edges with strips of wood fiber or whalebone, like those of a water scoop made of bark (Fig. 30). Naturally, this quiver, which, like the one of leather, is called hilis, is less resistant and durable.

It need not surprise us that not a single one of the earlier navigators, nor a visitor from more recent times, with the exception of Martial:192, mentions the quiver, the latter being subsidiary to bow and arrow. Even the arrow is not mentioned by many. The illustrations of bow, arrow, and quiver given in Volume I, 221, 239, and 240, could, without objection, also be used for these implements of the Yamana. With the exception of minor details, they show in general what these objects were like among the southern Fuegians. Formerly there were plenty of men capable of making these things for their own use. [439] It is also undeniably certain that the eastern Yamana obtained them through barter from the neighboring Haus or Selk'nam.

They are very serviceable in hunting on land as a long-range weapon against guanaco. For this they are not excelled by any other weapon of the Yamana. On the other hand, it is not easy to manipulate them in a rocking canoe, /470/ and from this vantage point a practiced archer can use them effectively only against otter. A person on land has a better chance to catch birds with the sling and the mare, and sea lions with the club. Moreover, the Yamana do not like to go far from the coast. It is only in cases of particular necessity that they push deeper into the woods where none of their weapons would be easy to manage.

224 441 In view of local conditions, we realize that the bow and arrow cannot be recommended for general use and that it is really suitable only for hunting guanaco. The range of this animal, however, ends with the central Yamana. In view of this, the bow and arrow were used most of all in the east and less in the west where the guanaco is wholly absent. Here these weapons were largely used for hunting otter, and this explains why, with the progressive adoption of the dog, they lost importance. These changes in the economy of the Yamana cannot be discussed until later; they deserve attention for several reasons.

/871 cont./

263 177 sea birds or seals are cooked in it. Along with European foods, the desire for salt was introduced there.

273 177 In the entire vegetable kingdom of the Cape Horn region there is not a sufficient amount of a single fruit that would be suitable for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The latter were unknown to the Yamana until they were offered to them by Europeans. The navigators of earlier times often noted that our natives could not develop a taste for spirits. They have come to it only through frequent use in the last few decades (336). Whiskey is almost never

336. Dabbene (b):187 from his own experience says: "Formerly they did not like alcoholic beverages, but now they have become accustomed to them through their contact with civilization and ardently desire them" /translated from Spanish/. Wieghardt: 37 and others say the same.

439 733 available to them, instead they get the thick red wine from the Mendoza region, which they call sipe, "blood." When they have an opportunity, they put a great deal of this into their stomachs, and since their nerves react to it immediately, they drag their drunkenness with its attendant symptoms about with them for days. A small amount is very hard on these natural people who are not accustomed to it, and the damage to their health is inestimable (p. 351 /untranslated/) (337). A few /572/ persons, such as Nelly

337. Dusc:93 writes that when in those distant regions "civilization obtruded and brought along its inevitable accompaniments [alcohol and tobacco], it became clear that these sons of the wilderness [the Selk'nam] did not place any value on them. The Yahgan, on the other hand, quickly fell victims to the new luxuries and were capable of giving up their last skin [of seal and otter] for a piece of tobacco or a drink of whiskey." Compare in this connection the more detailed account on page 348 /untranslated/.

/378 cont./
days of need are over, they recover /378/ surprisingly fast. Serious after-effects or a weakening of their health scarcely ever appear. Habit has taught them how best to overcome the brief periods of hunger without harm.

Ever since the Tamoan have had easy access to the various farms, they have borrowed there for all kinds of European food and luxuries, such as sugar and wine, coffee and tea, onions, canned tomatoes, and other things. They also acquired cooking pots, in which they prepare our foods so that they are reasonably tasty. This strange diet, however, is not good for their health. Besides toothache, other physical ailments appear, which the people in olden times were fortunately spared despite all kinds of deprivations.

3. How They Divide the Booty

We must insert here a few data about the way in which larger pieces of game are used. On the one hand we shall mention obligations of a social nature, for which we shall later give more detailed reasons. On the other hand, the receipt of a gift cannot be compared with ordinary food-getting. Since, however, in the case of the most important animals hunted, namely, seals and whales, there is a definite obligation to let others share it, we shall most conveniently describe here the prevailing custom.

Every local group greets with indescribable rejoicing a whale that has been driven inland or deposited on the beach. Dense swarms of sea birds announce this extraordinary gift of nature. According to the general conception, any man who has first seen or touched the whale is the owner of it, but, however, in the sense that he alone may eat of this animal, the enormous masses of which he would, in any case, be incapable of coping with, but only insofar as it is up to him to arrange an orderly distribution (347).

347. From an earlier period when whales were still plentiful Bridges (a):200 reported: "Certain persons, those who first found the whale, have the right to distribute it" /cited in English/.

/673 cont./

437 Although by and large every adult is able to make for himself the articles necessary for his way of life, nevertheless he obtains all kinds of things through barter. We mean by this the arrangement whereby, upon mutual agreement, one object is put up for another and the owners make an exchange. Our Indians lack real media of exchange, such as money, shells, and the like, but they put a lower or higher value on each object, to which they decisively refer during the exchange. The value of a thing increases if it is unusually beautiful, for example, in the case of an otter skin, or if it is carefully made and reliable in use, for instance, a long harpoon point, and finally in relation to the difficulty with which it was obtained, as in the case of soft pieces of guanaco leather. If a person wants an object, the owner evaluates it and compares it with the merit of the thing the other person offers in exchange. They try to make up for the lack of merit of one object as against another by increasing the quantity. The Indians are unfamiliar with weights as measure. If both parties have agreed on the equivalents of the objects to be bartered, they make the exchange.

There are several expressions in the Yamana language from 437 which we may clearly recognize the customs involved in barter as 438 described above. For example, BD:307 gives mutéguí-matapai, "to make mutually an exchange with each other" /cited in English/. Likewise, mutéguí-mun, "a thing (things) given in exchange" /cited in English/. Earlier observers were convinced that there was lively barter among our Yamana (388). Darwin (d):238 wrote:

> 388. Cooper:179 is correct in his summary: "Barter between the Fuegians and the whites, between the three Fuegian tribes, and between members of the same tribe is a common feature of Fuegian life" /cited in English/.

"Several of the Fuegians definitely proved that they had a good idea of barter. I gave a man a large nail, without making any kind of sign that I expected a return gift. He immediately picked out two fish and handed them to me on the tip of his spear. Whenever there was a gift meant for a canoe and it was dropped

1; Gusinde--874 E-S (1916-1924) 1937 S98 Yahgan S98

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near someone else, it was always given to the rightful owner." This last statement confirms what was mentioned above, namely, that no one keeps for himself something that belongs to another. "Strange to say," Snow (b):262 confessed, "I found all of the Fuegians I met very honest in barter" /cited in English/. In addition, we quote Lovisato's (b):140 testimony: "The Yahgan seemed to us to be quite familiar with barter... Upon receiving from us a piece of bread or any article whatsoever, they immediately offered some fish strung on a stick or some crabs" /translated from Italian/. The natives evaluated the merit of the object given them and in return gave something comparable (391).

391. Unfortunately some Europeans consciously or unconsciously disregarded this point of view of the natives. Hyades (q): 243 also complains about this: "It often resulted in misunderstandings with strangers who planned to buy weapons and skins for furs in exchange for an insignificant trifle, while the Fuegians thought they themselves had made a gift which was not repaid in subsequent meetings" /translated from French/. Having grown wiser by many disappointments, the Indians use a well-known trick which Martial:204 clearly describes: "The seller never parted with the object that he wished to exchange until he had received the price, and when he had several objects he was very careful to show them successively, so as not to decrease the value of his goods" /translated from French/.

/979/ Since Europeans have dominated the Cape Horn Archipelago, our natives have also bartered with them, above all with the missionaries. How actively barter was sometimes carried on was described by Bridges on April 21, 1875, as follows: "There is no market in Fireland. The natives covet our food, clothing, and goods. Women, one after another, bring bundles of small fish for sale. One wants in exchange much biscuit, another a comb, another a handkerchief, another sugar, etc., others bring crabs and

1: Gumilla--975 G-6 (1918-1924) 1937 5016 Yahgan 5016

/879 cont./

437 others shellfish, and oftentimes there is such a flow that we must
439 stop and refuse....Many come with baskets, spears, shafts, fish-
lines, eggs, shells, and curios of every imaginable kind, -- stones,
seals' teeth, birds' claws, feather headbands, clays, fungi, seeds,
etc. -- wanting every description of goods in return" /cited in Eng-
lish/ (MM:IX, 217; 1875).

437 One is justified in assuming that the Yamana greatly enjoy exchanging their articles and, indeed, for the sheer pleasure of having something in return as soon as possible. Bridges (ibid.) is also of the opinion that "the natives are always buying and selling, exchanging canoes and everything" /cited in English/. He also adds: "Their manner of doing so is very unsatisfactory" /cited in English/. True, to a certain extent everyone concerned with barter evaluates the articles to be exchanged, but they lack unequivocal measures of value, such as money, and hasty arbitrariness is unavoidable (392). These serious unpleasantness sometimes results from

> 392. On April 21, 1875, Bridges mentioned an incident "that occurred a few days ago. Palahlian, a man about thirty-eight, has three wives and three little children, and had a good canoe. Another man, a visitor here, not living with Palahlian, intends to give his canoe to Palahlian. Palahlian does not wish it, and hears of it indirectly, and is troubled what to give in return. He told me all about it. Palahlian at length is told that such and such a canoe is his, not, however, by the giver. Palahlian then seeks him, and gives him a large axe, well handled. Thus there is no mutual agreement previously made, and most of their transactions are performed in this loose manner" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 218;1875).

an exchange.

426 Our Yamana practice lending less frequently, but sometimes they find themselves forced to resort to it because of need and unforeseen requirements. Almost always only articles that someone

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 Sis Yahgan Sis

437 money of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
• 439 on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[804] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[885] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

918 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

594 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[262] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[572] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

afforded a basis for little more than the mere act of existence and merely testify to the cultural poverty of their makers.

1. Fire-making Apparatus.—By all accounts the Yahgan rarely made fire, because they carried it with them on the hearths in their canoes. In their semi-nude society to lack fire might mean death, and so wherever they went they tried to husband a wisp of flame. When it was necessary to kindle a new blaze they used flint and pyrites (*t'wolik*) with dried fungus or down for tinder, after the fashion of the Ona. Various places in Fuegian waters where pyrites can be secured are mentioned on page 65; one of these, Merton island, lies in Yahgan territory. However, Rev. Thomas Bridges states that they got this material by trade with the Alacaluf, who obtained it on Clarence island. Especially fine flints were found in a valley called Anáwaia between Lapatala and Ushuaia. To protect the fire-making apparatus from the weather it was kept in a small hide pouch called *asáus* (fig. 53, *b*).

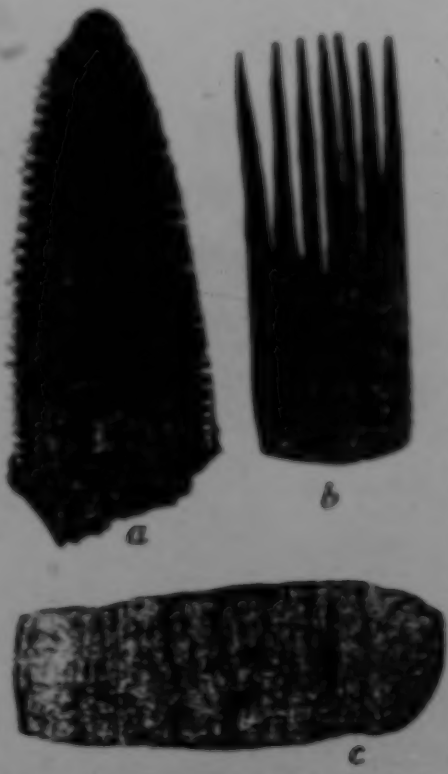

Fig. 54.—*a*, Porpoise-jaw comb; length, 6 in. (14/2370). *b*, Whalebone comb; length, 5¼ in. (14/2374). *c*, Seal-throat pouch; length, 8¼ in. (14/2369)

2. Fire-tongs.—For tending the fire and for removing the objects from it the Yahgan used tongs. These are no more than a stick an inch or so in diameter and a couple of feet long, split for three-quarters of its length. Cultural borrowing is indicated by the name of this implement—*lákis* in Yahgan,